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PUBLICATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY
Number Fifteen

# PAIUTE SORCERY

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14 East 71st Street
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

Printed in the United States of America

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS paper was originally presented as a doctoral thesis in Anthropology to Yale University in 1942. The material was gathered on field trips to Burns, Oregon, in the summers of 1936, 1937, and 1938.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor George P. Murdock for directing my dissertation, and to the Cross Cultural Survey for allowing me to use their files. I also wish to thank the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, not only for helping to finance my field trips, but also for my training in anthropology and psychology. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Geoffrey Gorer for his help in editing the manuscript, and to the Viking Fund for its publication.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . . 5
INTRODUCTION . . . . . 9
ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY . . . . . 16
THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER . . . . . 27
THE THEORY OF DISEASE . . . . . 33
THERAPY . . . . . 38
THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS . . . . . 43
THE SORCERER . . . . . 55
THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY . . . 67
SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND . . . . . 75
A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL . . . . . 82
APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES . . . 93
Material Culture . . . . . 93
Houses . . . . . 93
Clothing . . . . . 95
Hairdress . . . . . 96
Face Painting . . . . . 96
Tatooing . . . . . 96
Depilation . . . . . 96
Ear Piercing . . . . . 97
Blankets . . . . . 97
Skin Dressing . . . . . 97
Baskets and Other Containers . . . . . 97
Tools . . . . . 98
Fire Making . . . . . 99
Weapons . . . . . 99
Social Behavior . . . . . 100
Marriage . . . . . 100
Pregnancy . . . . . 102
Birth Customs . . . . . 103
Infant Care . . . . . 103
General Care . . . . . 104
Child Training . . . . . 104
Developmental Ceremonies . . . . . 105
Death . . . . . 106
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 109



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# LIST OF TABLES

Table I . . . . . 85
Table II . . . . . 87
Table III . . . . . 89
Table IV . . . . . 90

# MAP

The Harney Valley Region . . . . . 18

# INTRODUCTION

THIS monograph was written with three purposes in mind: first, to present 121 a descriptive analysis of the way in which social control operates among the Harney Valley Paiutes; second, on the basis of this intensive analysis, to formulate hypotheses concerning correlations between certain conditions and types of social control; and third, to test these hypotheses cross-culturally.

The concept of social control, as used in this paper, includes all mechanisms which regulate the interpersonal relationships of individuals within the Paiute families and bands. Most anthropologists assume that behavior between individuals is defined by custom; that each society dictates the behavior which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable; that customs are transmitted from generation to generation and are relatively stable. Anthropologists, however, have given less consideration to the problems of why people obey custom, how they learn the customs, and what happens to those individuals who fail to comply with the social regulations, than they have to the description of the customs themselves. It is these problems of obedience, learning, and punishment which in this paper are grouped under the concept of social control.

In considering the problem of social control I have assumed that: (1) In any society individuals must co-operate in order to survive. They must live peacefully with other persons. (2) An individual cannot act according to the dictates of his basic drives alone and live in peaceful relations with other persons. His desires may conflict with the desires of other individuals and therefore necessitate a compromise. (3) He must learn to co-operate and, since he must give up certain satisfactions which conflict with the interests of other members of the society, he must be forced to learn;[1] further, there must be continuous pressure which forces him to maintain these learned habits. (4) In any reasonably stable society there is a tendency for customs to be set up in such a way that a minimum of conflict exists between the drives of individuals and the needs of the group. (5) In any society, individual asocial wishes will break through custom, will cause friction, and will have to be punished.

[1] These three assumptions are embodied in William Graham Sumner's theory of antagonistic co-operation as stated in *Folkways* (New York, 1906), pp. 16-17. Malinowski has also pointed out that an individual, civilized or savage, does not submit to custom automatically. It is "contrary to human nature to accept any constraint to human nature as a matter of course"—and—man does not "ever carry out unpleasant, burdensome, cruel regulations and taboos without being compelled to." Cf. B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932), p. 10.

121 Until recently American anthropologists have thought of customs as habits which are learned by imitation or some other mechanism and which then continue to be performed without any external pressure. These theories assume that habits are autonomous and that imitation is automatic. The first of these assumptions has been invalidated by the followers of Pavlov, the stimulus-response psychologists. Furthermore, imitation has been shown by Miller and Dollard to be a learned response.[2] It is the basic assumption of these psychologists that all habits must be learned and subsequently maintained by rewards and punishments. Furthermore, they have found that the more a habit conflicts with the basic drives of an individual, the more difficult it is to teach and maintain. If one accepts these findings and the five basic assumptions presented above, it is obvious that in any society there must be mechanisms of social control to teach and maintain customs which, although they may conflict with an individual's drives, are essential to the welfare of the group.

Sumner recognized this problem in his concept of the mores. He saw customs as growing out of the needs of the group. Some of these customs were pleasurable to the individuals; others, though painful, were found to be necessary for the welfare of the group. These customs he called *mores* as contrasted with *folkways*.[3] He recognized that all custom had to be sanctioned but that the degree of sanction varied with the importance of the interest.[4]

Within societies there are usually sub-groups. The more closely knit and interdependent these groups are, the more essential that peaceful relations between the members be maintained. It is my hypothesis that in such a group customs essential to the avoidance of strife will be taught early in childhood and that control of asocial behavior will be more strongly internalized than in a larger and less closely integrated group. The threat of loss of support and help from the group will be a constant deterrent to behavior which is contrary to custom. There will be less need for direct punishment or specialized agencies of social control.

A similar contrast may be made between the type of social control found in different societies. The more interdependent the individuals of a society and the greater the need for cooperation, the more internalized will be the forces of social control. The size of the group and the economic relations between the members will also be essential determinants in the type of control which will be most efficient. The larger and more complex the interrelationship between individuals, the greater will be the need for formalized social control.[5]

[2] N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

[3] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[5] Linton makes a point similar to this in his discussion of the local group. "Moreover, the extremely close relations existing between all the band's members make it possible to deal with offenders effectively yet at the same time informally." Cf. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 222.

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Cross-cultural analysis indicates that there are six main types of mechanisms of social control.[6] Some are found in all societies and some are found only where the social, economic, and political organization is complex. 121

One of the most basic and universal mechanisms of social control is the superego or conscience. As Freud has pointed out, this internalized mechanism which controls the individual is developed in early childhood as a result of parental discipline and example, and the identification of the child with the parents. However, even this deeply internalized mechanism must be constantly backed up by other social control agencies, particularly as the individual grows up and is less dependent on his parents.

Another type of social control mechanism which functions in all societies is public opinion. Linton[7] and Lips[8] speak of the fear of ridicule as a strong deterrent to asocial behavior. In my analysis, however, this fear of ridicule is successful only if it implies a threat of loss of help or the threat of ostracism or mob action.[9] Public disapproval as a mechanism of social control varies in effectiveness with the strength of the threat implied. However, if the fear of disapproval is strongly internalized, it may be effective in controlling behavior even if the punishment implied in the threat is never executed. In a similar way public approval is an incentive to social behavior; its strength as a motivator varies with the type of reward implied.

Reciprocity is a third important type of social control and one which has been elucidated by Malinowski and his students.[10] These anthropologists conceive social relations to be composed of a series of give-and-take obligations. Each partner in these reciprocal agreements guards his rights and threatens to break the relationship if the bargain is not fulfilled.[11] An individual's work is rewarded by the repayment he receives from his reciprocating partner. Inasmuch as the fulfillment of both sides of the bargain is essential to the well-being of the individuals, positive and negative sanctions are constantly functioning.

The fourth type of sanction, and one which is found in varying degree in every society, is the religious or supernatural sanction. Sumner has called this type

[6] The most complete analysis of social control is that presented in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, prepared by the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, 1938, category 42.

[7] Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[8] Julius Lips, "Government," *General Anthropology*, edited by Franz Boas (New York, 1938), p. 496.

[9] Lips says that "the individual cannot escape unfavorable public opinion, for he cannot leave the local group and join another community." *Ibid.*

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932). H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934). P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization of the Abelam Tribe, Sepik District, New Guinea" (*Oceania*, vol. XII, no. 1).

[11] The concept of breaking relationship is an elaboration of the theory of reciprocity developed by Whiting. See J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 97-98.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



121 of pressure toward social conformity "ghost fear."[12] Whiting, in an analysis of supernatural beliefs among the Kwoma, has discussed the problem of the inculcation of these fears and the way in which they function in social control. He has shown that the teaching of these beliefs takes place in early childhood primarily through the mechanism of warning and that the feared supernatural agents resemble realistic agents, and therefore a child's fear of real dangers generalizes to the unreal dangers postulated by the culture. He also points out that these supernatural fears, although they are taught early in life, must be maintained by other sanctions, and that both direct and chance punishments serve this purpose.[13] The analysis of supernatural sanctions in Paiute society indicates that most of the customs which are controlled in this way are taught early in life and that the fear of punishment is internalized and becomes part of the conscience. It also confirms Whiting's hypothesis that other types of sanction are applied to maintain the supernatural sanctions. The analysis of Paiute society also suggests that this type of social control works best where there are small numbers of people living together and where the social and economic organization is simple.

The fifth type of sanction is retaliation. The basic idea of an eye for an eye seems to be present in some form in every culture. Individual or kin retaliation are the simplest forms. If a man is murdered, it is the duty of one of his relatives to see that the murderer or one of the murderer's relatives is killed in revenge. Retaliation, however, must be controlled. Were there no way of stopping feuds the situation would be similar to the legend of the Martins and the Coys, who continued revenge killings until only two representatives of the clans were left. This aspect has been overlooked by many ethnologists in their descriptions of social control.

The substitution of payment in goods or currency for blood revenge is one of the most usual checks on retaliation. However, to insure the acceptance of such settlements other types of social control forces must operate. There must be some pressure which forces the wronged party to accept the payment as full recompense.

Retaliation may also be indirect or symbolic. In societies where there is a belief that an individual may kill or bring illness to somebody by using supernatural power, retaliation may be in the form of sorcery. In this case it is the fear of supernatural powers rather than direct revenge which keeps an individual from committing an offense. However, as in the case of other supernatural sanctions, there must be a real threat implied or the fear will be extinguished.[14]

The sixth type of sanction includes the institutionalized types of social control. These include all agencies to whom authority is delegated to make laws, settle disputes, and execute punishments.

[12] W. G. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[13] J. W. M. Whiting, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.
[14] For definition of principle of extinction see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-42.

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Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. Within the family the conscience, developed by direct punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors.

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against

[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



121

life and person and some offenses against property fall in the first category, whereas sexual offenses and some types of property offenses, such as theft of food, fall in the second category. Indolence and non-fulfillment of obligations are two other important causes of friction.[16]

The field work on which this dissertation is based was done during the summers of 1936, '37, and '38, among the Harney Valley Paiute in Burns, Oregon. During the first year the purpose was to acquire historical material, and most of the time in the field was spent with old informants who were questioned primarily on material culture and folklore. The second summer was devoted to an analysis of the social organization, which had been described in the literature as "amorphous" and "unformalized." I felt that although the organization was seemingly without form there must be definite rules which regulated the composition of groups and the interpersonal relationships of the members of the band. On the subject of social organization and also on the subject of religion I found that I could use younger informants and that in these fields much of the old culture survived in spite of the drastic changes which had occurred in the life of the people, particularly in their economic life. The material on social organization checked closely with the findings reported by Julian H. Steward in his monograph on *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, published in 1938.[17] During the last weeks of this second stay among the Paiutes I began to get more detailed material on religion and the concept of good and bad power.

The third summer my husband, John Whiting, accompanied me to the field. He had just returned from New Guinea, where he had been particularly interested in the problem of social control. Influenced by him, I devoted most of this summer to the subjects of social control and sorcery. I spent less time using the question and answer technique and more time recording gossip and observing the interrelationship of the members of the community. I devoted considerable time to gathering what Hoebel and Llewelyn have called "trouble cases."[18] For example, besides questioning informants about murder and recording their theoretical statements I asked them to describe actual murders and the circumstances preceding and following the incidents. I gathered as many of these cases as possible.

In analyzing the material on social control I used a modification of the system used by C. S. Ford in his analysis of "rules" presented in an article on "Society, Culture, and the Human Organism."[19] All cases of conflict were recorded in terms of the type of sanction, the customs sanctioned, and the sanctioning agent. This analysis indicated the importance of supernatural sanctions, particularly the strength of the fear of sorcery as an agent of social control. This fear was found to be

[16] *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Cross-Cultural Survey, New Haven, 1938, categories 423, 426.
[17] See Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120.
[18] E. A. Hoebel and K. N. Llewelyn, *Cheyenne Way* (Norman, 1941), *passim*.
[19] *The Journal of General Psychology*, 20 (1939), p. 131.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



important in controlling aggression within the family and in supplementing and checking retaliation within the band. [121]

In presenting the description and analysis of Paiute social control I have started with a detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and the theories of sickness and therapy because these beliefs and theories are essential to an understanding of the analysis of sorcery as a method of social control. In conclusion I have summarized the types of social control found in Harney Valley and have stated some of the conditions which seems to be correlated with the presence of sorcery as a method of control. Finally, I have attempted to test the validity of these correlations by a study of a sample of other societies. The material to test these correlations was taken from the files of the Cross-Cultural Survey. [125]

# ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [77] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 62] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[2] and consists primarily of desert shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out

[2] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



101
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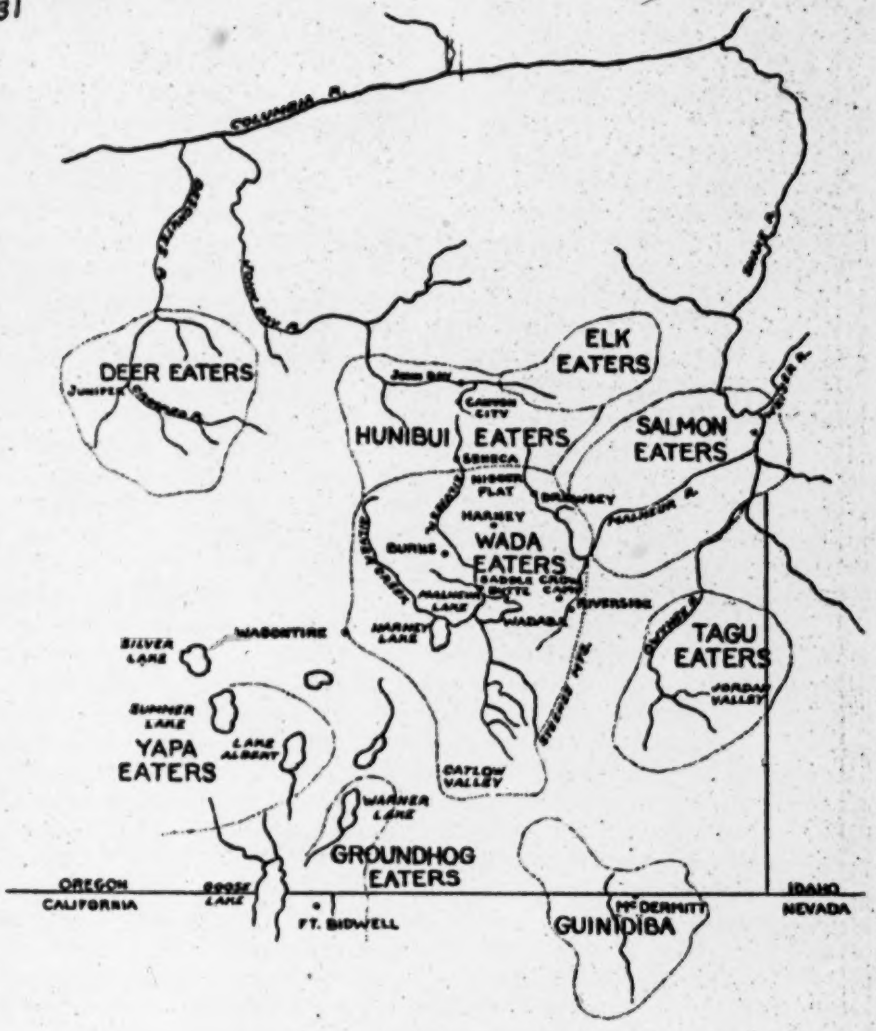
131




THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber. In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk and the women to pick huckleberries.[6]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the *wada* (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child. Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother. Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

[6] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get *wada* there was reciprocal exchange.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

*Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co-operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adolescents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 186-, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

[1] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



177 657 648 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan, Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them [656] bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8] Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt), and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the 648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing [579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas, made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and 648 657 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca. Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group [425]
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.
[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[15] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

[15] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores. A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



177 [648 657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

# THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ha*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, other types of good power[1]; and *pu ha.ha*, sorcery power. All of these are thought to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ha*, are the only people who can diagnose and cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ha* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



the memory of informants, are believed to have bestowed power on people: waterbaby,[4] chicken hawk, robin, eagle, *kadi* (unidentified bird), antelope, otter, weasel, mountain sheep, rain, fire, earth, whirlwind, cloud, lightning, thunder, rock, ghost, *patibui* (unidentified berry), red beads, and gun.[5]

It is not always possible to deduce the kind of spirit helper a person has from the type of power he possesses. Some types of power, however, seem to come from one kind of spirit only. For example, the men who lead antelope drives always have the antelope as a helper, and people derive snake power from a particular variety of snake. Power to run fast comes from some animal that is swift moving, usually the antelope. In the old days, bullet proof men most frequently had power directly from rain, clouds, rainbow, or wind, or had a spirit helper who gave them control over these phenomena.

Sometimes the same kind of spirit gives different powers to different individuals. Waterbaby, for example, sometimes gives power to cure and sometimes power to ward off bullets; it may tell the person whom it befriends how to use the rain and the clouds to stop bullets or to diagnose disease. One man was both a doctor and bullet proof and had but the one helper. Of the five doctors who had the waterbaby as one of their helpers, several also had eagle and antelope, and there were many other spirits capable of bestowing the same type of power. In the majority of cases, however, only the doctors had more than one spirit helper, and one informant claimed that even they, if really successful, would have but one.

Snakes might give good or bad power. One sorcerer was befriended by a snake, another by a sea gull, and a third by black lizards.

The spirit appears to the individual in recurrent dreams and bestows power upon him. The dreams are thought to come unsolicited. In them the person meets his spirit helper, e.g., a chicken hawk, waterbaby, or gun, and is instructed in the nature of the power he is to have. The spirit usually tells him to carry some object at all times and to bathe on certain occasions. He teaches him a song and, if he is to be a doctor, some dances. The dream recurs until the individual becomes familiar with the instructions. Thereafter unless he carries them out in every detail, he will either lose his power or sicken and perhaps die.

The fact that these dreams are unsolicited is stressed and there are only a few examples of behavior which might be considered comparable to the vision quest of the Plateau. On the northern part of the Malheur Reservation there is a hill known as Castle Rock. It is said that several men became bullet proof as a result of sleeping there for several nights. At the base of the rock there is a stream in which the neophyte bathed before ascending. During the night while he slept on

[4] Waterbabies are mythical dwarfs who dwell in caves near water holes.

[5] This list is similar to that given in W. Z. Park, "Shamanism in Western North America" (*Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 1938), p. 18.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to follow.

Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and techniques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting. Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however, began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm. She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill. From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick, the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret them in terms of power.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



869 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although
756 they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disad-
571] vantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[177] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

# THE THEORY OF DISEASE

THE Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth, sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon. That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 754 [755] The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis. Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 756 [776] [755] The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows: Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave [761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which [787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 756 778 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and developed "a hole in his leg."[1] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when one's power goes the breath goes with it."[2] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can recapture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

[1] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[2] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



753 775 787 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin. She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to [761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered food, he would have died.

753 775 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts. In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her [761] breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse. While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her [761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died. He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel [761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another [755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

[688] It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his 753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman, 775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his 768 weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attrib- [761] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had died

[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.
[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



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died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

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The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but sometimes he calls in a doctor.[6]

[754] [755 757]

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A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure.

[755 756]

[6] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

# THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases. Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists. In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending [757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may [782 776 757] pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting, paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and, if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor 756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to [753] work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a 755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the 756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays, when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755
If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756
doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [841 843]
All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

755 and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American
756 clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and further-
[292] more, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress unless he wears moccasins.

[293] The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

755 The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying
782 pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. A man, who is
[533] known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as "loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking out some foreign object. 755

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking. [754]

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the patient. [753]

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who specializes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports [775 753] [774]

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



his experiences as he wanders around searching, and the audience can hear him talking to the patient's breath when he finally finds it. Then the two breaths return to earth and to the bodies which have been lying rigid. Often the assistants have to lift the bodies to aid them back to life.

When the ghost sickness is caused by bad dreams, cures are sometimes effected by finding out the content of the patient's dream. In some cases when the patient has fainted or is "out of his mind," the doctor sprinkles water on him. One informant explained that a doctor did this only when he caught the ghost sickness before it was "in the blood."

The procedure described above is the Paiute theory and ritual of diagnosis and cure. To understand how the doctor actually decides which type of disease is causing the sickness it is necessary to probe deeper. Such an analysis will reveal the significance of the concepts of power and the theories of disease in the social life of the Paiutes.

# THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

AS has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she [584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on [578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have [754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa 755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had [753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her. Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor 578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself. Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day, two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755
753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
781] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

753 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience
755 with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experience which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is unconscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved, is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



[154] the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [165] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men. Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey. Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M. girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



578 758 157 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated [754] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[755] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[8]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie 758 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and 157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen, [754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

[8] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



755 power, the censure is on the patient's own action; in ghost sickness, the blame may
681 be laid on the deceased's relatives or on the patient for thinking of them. In the case of sorcery, the blame is placed on someone else. These facts begin to shed light on the importance of the concept of power and the theory of disease and therapy and suggest how these beliefs function in social control.

# THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense. The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood, is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease. The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power. Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its pos- 756
sessor employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punish- 578
ment. For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



754 him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the
[578] victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver
[301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



754 761 [626] after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way, but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter, Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

[634] All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 828] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she [164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied [832 837] and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

754 681 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the community before he could flee.

Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and 626 is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social 578 control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

# THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion. 626

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household. 592 [591]

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man. [595]

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him. [586]

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut [462]

592 and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large
[462] part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they col-
[462] lected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days,
562 except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for eco-
593 nomic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for be-
861 ing aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a
867 child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 578 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister-in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's wife is culturally recognized.[1] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a girl is to have her brother criticize her in public. 593 578 154

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives. [586]

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband. [602]

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother-in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter. [835] [584] 837] 606 837 154

[1] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship. [607]

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



762 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of
154 strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other
578 frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and
155 sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the
867] family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

# SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



individuals indicate that these are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye. If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family. Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is no possibility of financial settlement.[1] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

[1] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

684 627 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents of the murdered girl.

627 685 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical [858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 627 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation. It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 627 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body. When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



626 627 183 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas. [685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money, she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp, and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the [681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer, even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a [208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person [756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals. [776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer.

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents. Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.

# A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 593 627 681 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-208 standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

754 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



person's group; hence, by the principle of anticipation,[3] a person learns to expect punishment as soon as he has wronged another, and, by the same principle, he also fears punishment as soon as he wishes to wrong another. Now since, because of the conflict of interests between the members of a society, any person at times will wish to wrong others, it follows that he will at these times fear retaliation.[3] Most primitive societies have no adequate realistic theories of disease. Sickness and punishment both cause the individual pain, and, by the principle of generalization,[4] sickness is viewed as similar to punishment. Hence, if a person is sick and at the same time fears retaliation, he will assume that the sickness is caused by an enemy. It should follow, therefore, that in societies where the fear of retaliation is great, the fear of sorcery should also be great.

In attempting to test this hypothesis, the author first went through the Cross-Cultural Survey files, recording the presence or absence of sorcery and of coordinate control. This proved unsuccessful because, of the fifty tribes sampled, only two completely lacked the concept of sorcery. Since it was obvious, however, that sorcery is far more important in some societies than in others, the files were rechecked in order to determine its importance in each society. The following criteria were used and the data entered:

SORCERY

A. As an explanation of sickness:
   1. Only
   2. Important
   3. Unimportant
   4. Absent

B. Personnel
   1. Anyone
   2. Specialists—hiring
   3. Specialists—no hiring
   4. None

[3] According to the principle of anticipation, responses near the end of a series which terminates in a reward tend to occur earlier in the series. Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 49-53, and C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena" (*Psychological Review*, 38, 1931), pp. 487-506.

[3] These basic assumptions are all embodied in Freud's theory of projection. For a discussion of the role of projection in sorcery see Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), pp. 305-309. Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in a Primitive Society" (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, no. 1, 1938), pp. 25-47.

[4] According to the principle of generalization, similar situations tend to evoke the same response in individuals. Cf. C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory" (*Psychological Review*, 46, 1939), pp. 19-30, and N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 44-45.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



121

C. Punishment of sorcery

1. Killing or ostracism
2. Fining and other minor punishments
3. Neither

Most societies have more than one explanation for disease, many having as many as four or five. The most common causes are: natural causes, ghosts, gods, spirits, sorcerers, and the infringement of taboos. Most ethnographers give some indication of the relative importance of these explanations and, if sorcery is one of them, often comment on the extent of the fear of sorcerers. If the ethnographer did not make such a statement, information as to the number and severity of cases attributed to sorcery as compared to other explanations was used as a criterion of its relative importance as an explanation for sickness.

The personnel of sorcery was recorded on the assumption that sorcery is more important in societies where anyone is a potential sorcerer or where anyone can hire a sorcerer to kill an enemy, the assumption being that there should be less fear of sorcery if only a few individuals are dangerous.

The information as to the punishment of sorcery was gathered on the assumption that an individual fears accusations of sorcery more if the punishment is death or ostracism, than if the punishment is a fine or some other minor penalty.

When it came to making the analysis, it was found that only criterion A could be used. In many societies where anyone could be a sorcerer and the punishment was death or ostracism, the author specifically stated that there were very few sorcerers. For example, in Lepcha society, specialists could be hired, yet Mr. Gorer found that only two cases of sorcery were remembered by living informants. Similarly, in several of the Polynesian societies, anyone could be a sorcerer but few cases of sorcery were reported. In some societies, on the other hand, the author stated that sorcery was important but could be practiced only by specialists who could not be hired. This seems to be particularly true of South American tribes, for example the Tupinamba. Therefore, sorcery was listed as important if it was an important explanation for sickness.

The type of social control in the various societies was determined by analyzing the treatment of serious offenses. The seriousness of an offense was judged wherever possible by the reaction of the members of the society as reported by the ethnographer. In general, murder, sorcery, theft, and adultery belonged in this category, and were used in determining the type of control if the ethnographer did not make a statement as to the relative seriousness of offenses. The treatment of murder proved the best criterion. It was found that in societies where murder cases are settled by a delegated authority, cases of adultery are often left to individual retaliation, and cases of theft are often settled out of court. Sorcery is considered a religious offense in some societies and is treated differently from other crimes. Hence, societies in which murder was settled by retaliation were classified

as coordinate, and those in which murder cases were referred to a delegated authority as superordinate. [21]

Using the above criteria the author made a tetrachoric correlation between the importance or unimportance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness and the presence or absence of coordinate control. The correlation between the importance of sorcery and coordinate control was significant (see Table I), but it was obvious

TABLE I

24 (48%) 11 (22%)
1 ( 2%) 14 (28%)
R = .85 (reliable at .60)

| | No superordinate justice (coordinate control) | | | Superordinate justice | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sorcery important | Arunta | Apache | Barama Caribs | Ashanti | Hill Maria Gonds |
| | Buka | Chuckchee | Delaware | Azande | Kwakiutl |
| | Dieri | Copper Eskimo | Jivaro | Chagga | Lamba |
| | Dobu | Ifugao | Witoto | Fiji | Sanpoil |
| | Kiwai | Kutchin | | Kamilaroi | |
| | Kwoma | Mala | | Tiv | |
| | Lesu | Maori | | Venda | |
| | Murngin | Paiute | | | |
| | Orokaiva | Yurok | | | |
| | Trobrianda | Zuni | | | |
| Sorcery unimportant | Lango | | | Bali | Cayapa |
| | | | | Japan | Cheyenne |
| | | | | Kazak | Crow |
| | | | | Lepcha | Samoa |
| | | | | Masai | Tikopia |
| | | | | Ontong Java | Tonga |
| | | | | Riff | |
| | | | | Tanala | |

that Africa was strikingly aberrant, all but three of the nine tribes sampled having sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and not coordinate but superordinate control.

The material on Africa was then analyzed in more detail to see if some other variables could be discovered. The author concentrated on Evans-Prichard's account of the Azande,[8] which had the best material on both sorcery and social control.

[8] Cf. E. E. Evans-Prichard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937), for most complete account of sorcery.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



When a major offense, for example injury by sorcery, is committed, the relatives of the injured person consult an oracle and if the oracle confirms their suspicion that sorcery has been practiced by a certain individual, they send a message to the chief's court and ask for a hearing. The case is presented before the chief's oracle, which acts as the judge in the case. If the oracle confirms the accusation, the chief gives the relatives permission to retaliate. The actual retaliation, however, is executed by the relatives and not by the chief or the members of his court. Adultery is treated in a similar way, and these are the two most common and serious offenses. In other words, there is an authority delegated to decide cases but there is no group with power to execute punishments. This was also found to be the case among the Tiv and Chagga.

The author decided to reclassify all the tribes, distinguishing between superordinate justice and superordinate punishment. If the members of a group avenged the murder of one of its members without securing permission from an individual or group of individuals, the society was listed as having coordinate control; if the group secured permission before it took action, the society was listed as having superordinate justice but no superordinate punishment; if the group presented its case to a chief or court and depended on them to punish the murderer, the society was listed as having both superordinate justice and punishment. In some societies there was an individual or group of individuals who settled cases, but it was stated that the complainants did not always abide by the decision. In cases of this kind the author attempted to evaluate the number of cases which were settled by the delegated authority, and, if they seemed to be in the majority, the society was listed as having superordinate justice. It was found that there were no societies which had superordinate punishment that did not also have superordinate justice. On the other hand, only seventeen of the twenty-five tribes which had superordinate justice had superordinate punishment as well.

Two tetrachoric correlations were then made, the first between the presence or absence of sorcery as an explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice (see Table I), and the second between the presence or absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment (see Table II). The tetrachoric correlation was used on the advice of Professor Carl Hovland, who recommended it for similar cross-cultural correlations made by Ford and Whiting.[6] The table of reliability computed by Hovland was also used.[7] Both correlations were found to be significant; r equals .85 in the first case (reliable for fifty tribes at .60); r equals .85+ in the second case (reliable for fifty tribes at .57). These correlations indicate that in the selected sample there is less than one chance in a hundred that

[6] C. S. Ford and J. W. M. Whiting used this correlation in their cross-cultural analysis of identification. Cf. ms. of paper presented at the Monday Night Group, Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, 1942.

[7] The computing diagrams drawn up by L. Chesire, M. Saffir and L. L. Thurstone were used. Cf. *Computing Diagrams for Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficient* (Chicago, 1933).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



the correlation between sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and co- |21|
ordinate control is due to chance.

Several criticisms of the above correlations can be made. There is the problem of the reliability of the judgment of the author as to the importance of sorcery

TABLE II

30 (60%) 5 (10%)
3 ( 6%) 12 (24%)
R = .85 (reliable at .57)

| | No superordinate punishment | | | Superordinate punishment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sorcery important | Arunta | Apache | Azande | Ashanti | |
| | Buka | Chuckchee | Barama Caribs | Fiji | |
| | Dieri | Copper Eskimo | Chagga | Lamba | |
| | Dobu | Delaware | Hill Maria Gonds | Sanpoil | |
| | Kamilaroi | Ifugao | Jivaro | Venda | |
| | Kiwai | Kutchin | Tiv | | |
| | Kwoma | Kwakiutl | Witoto | | |
| | Lesu | Paiute | | | |
| | Mala | Trobriands | | | |
| | Maori | Yurok | | | |
| | Murngin | Zuni | | | |
| | Orokaiva | | | | |
| Sorcery unimportant | Kazak | | | Bali | Cayapa |
| | Lango | | | Japan | Cheyenne |
| | Masai | | | Lepcha | Crow |
| | | | | Ontong Java | Tikopia |
| | | | | Riff | Tonga |
| | | | | Samoa | |
| | | | | Tanala | |

in each society and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment. Ideally several people should make independent judgements and a test of the reliability should be made. This was not feasible at the time the study was made. It was possible, however, to test the reliability of the author's judgements of the importance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness with the ratings made by the two judges for Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of the relation of theories of disease to child training practices.[8] The percent of agreement between the two sets of judgments in the thirty-three overlapping cases was eighty-one which is generally accepted as reliable.

A second major criticism of the above correlations can be made on the grounds

[8] See John Whiting and Irvin Child—unpublished manuscript.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



[2] that in selecting the tribes used in the correlation no allowance has been made for historical connections and diffusion. The question might be raised as to whether the connections between sorcery and coordinate control are not in many cases historical rather than functional.[9] From this point of view, including the Dieri, Aruntа, Murngin, and Kamilaroi in the sample might be said to be counting as four cases what is really just one case. These tribes are all Australian and belong in an area that shares many cultural traits because of common origin and diffusion. Perhaps all these groups were originally members of the same tribe which had both sorcery and coordinate control or perhaps either, or both of these traits originated in one tribe and spread by diffusion to the others.[10] Similarly it could be argued that the New Guinea tribes—the Kwoma, Orokaiva, and Kiwai—or the Polynesian Tongans and Samoans should have been counted as one case.

The problem of factoring out historical connections is a difficult one. Unfortunately world ethnology has not reached the point where one can be sure of historical connections. Furthermore, with the exception of North America, the mapping of culture areas is only in its early stages. It would seem that the best possible precaution is to avoid counting two tribes from an area which is generally recognized as having cultural unity.

A selection of tribes was made on the basis of the above criteria and it was found that, of the fifty tribes, twenty-six could be said to belong to distinct culture areas. Although this is a very small sample, correlations were made and were also found to be significant (see Tables III and IV).

A study of the contrast between cultural areas within larger geographic areas gives additional evidence of the presence of a functional relation between sorcery and coordinate control. The general picture in Oceania is that of increasing superordinate control as one progresses from Australia into Polynesia. In Australia and New Guinea sorcery is the only, or an important, explanation for sickness and, with the exception of the Kamilaroi, who have a council of head men who sometimes decide cases, there is no superordinate justice. In Polynesia, on the other hand, the majority of the societies have superordinate justice and punishment, and sickness is usually attributed to punishment by the gods or the breaking of taboos rather than to sorcery. Melanesia and the islands on the western and southwestern fringes of Polynesia are transitional. In general, sorcery is important. Unlike Australia,

[9] For a discussion of historical and functional factors in cultural correlations see Clyde Kluckhohn, "On Certain Recent Applications of Association Coefficients to Ethnographic Data" (*American Anthropologist*, 41, no. 3), pp. 359-366. See also G. P. Murdock, "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Institutions" (*Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven, 1937), pp. 450-453.

[10] Even if one accepts the hypothesis of diffusion, however, the question can be raised as to whether sorcery would diffuse to a society that has superordinate control or conversely whether a superordinate type of social control would diffuse to a society with a strong sorcery complex. Furthermore, if one of these traits did diffuse, one might assume that if the connection is a functional one a readjustment would take place in the culture. For example, if superordinate control was introduced, sorcery should eventually become unimportant.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



and New Guinea, however, there are chiefs. These chiefs, however, do not have the same type of power as the Polynesian chiefs. Their duties are primarily ceremonial and do not concern social control except when the offense is ceremonial or concerns them directly. Fiji is peculiar in that sorcery is important and the social control system is similar to Tonga and Samoa.

TABLE III

12 (46%) 4 (15%)
0 ( 0%) 10 (39%)
R = .95 (reliable at .82)

| | No superordinate justice | | Superordinate justice | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sorcery important | Arunta | Barama Caribs | Ashanti | |
| | Chuckchee | Kwoma | Azandi | |
| | Copper Eskimo | Trobriands | Hill Maria Gonds | |
| | Delaware | Tupinamba* | Kwakiutl | |
| | Ifugao | Witoto | | |
| | Paiute | | | |
| | Zuni | | | |
| Sorcery unimportant | | | Cheyenne | Bali |
| | | | Japan | Cayapa |
| | | | Lepcha | Kazak |
| | | | Masai | Samoa |
| | | | Riff | |
| | | | Tanala | |

* The information on the Tupinamba is scanty and for this reason the tribe was not used in the first sample.

Similar contrasts can be made between culture areas in North America. The Eskimo, Mackenzie-Yukon, Great Basin, and northern Californian tribes, and probably most of the northeastern tribes, have coordinate control and sorcery. In the southwestern pueblos and probably in some of the tribes of the southeast the sorcery complex is similar and, although the chiefs are more important, their duties are ceremonial and not directly concerned with social control.[11] In the Plains, on the other hand, there is superordinate control at least during part of the year—the season for hunting buffalo—and sorcery is unimportant. During the hunting season the warriors and chiefs have the authority to decide cases and to punish crime; during the other seasons of the year the control may be coordinate, although in

[11] The Natchez were an exception. They had rulers with superordinate judiciary and executive powers. Cf. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 383.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



[2,] some tribes groups who have authority during the buffalo drives tend to keep their authority in the other season. The Northwest Coast and parts of the Platesu have both sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and superordinate justice and sometimes punishment. It has been suggested, however, that the importance of the chiefs is of relatively recent origin.

TABLE IV

15 (57%) 1 ( 4%)
2 ( 8%) 8 (31%)
R = .92 (reliable at .87)

| | No superordinate punishment | | Superordinate punishment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sorcery important | Chuckchee | Arunta | Ashanti | |
| | Copper Eskimo | Azande | | |
| | Delaware | Barama Carib | | |
| | Hill Maria Gonds | Ifugao | | |
| | Kwakiutl | Kwoma | | |
| | Paiute | Trobriands | | |
| | Zuni | Tupinamba | | |
| | | Witoto | | |
| Sorcery unimportant | Masai | | Cheyenne | Bali |
| | Kazak | | Japan | Cayapa |
| | | | Lepcha | Samoa |
| | | | Riff | |
| | | | Tarala | |

At the time this study was made, there was not enough material on South America to give a clear impression of the distribution of either sorcery or types of social control.

The analysis of the culture areas of Africa[13] does not reveal any striking differences between areas. Of the two tribes in which sorcery is not important, the Riff are in the northern coastal area and the Lango in the transitional area between the semi-desert and the forest country.[14] However, since I have no other tribes in either of these areas, I cannot say whether or not this is typical. In the other areas included in the sample, sorcery is important and there is some type of superordinate control. There is some indication, however, that superordinate control was intro-

[13] Culture areas used are those mapped by W. D. Hambly, "Source Book for Anthropology" (*Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, 26, Part 1), pp. 135-136.

[14] The author's rating of the importance of sorcery among the Riff was not in accord with the ratings made by the judges in the Whiting-Child study.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



duced at the time of the development of the large kingdoms and that many types of offenses are still left to the small community groups to control in a coordinate manner. Neither Hambly's culture area mapping for Africa nor the sample of tribes used in the study is sufficiently adequate to make any further statement. [21]

The sample of tribes in Asia is too small to make any general statements.

The above survey of societies suggests several other hypotheses which should be tested cross-culturally; one is that the belief that sickness is caused by the gods is correlated with superordinate control, as is seen to be the case in Polynesia. Whiting and Child, in their cross-cultural study of the relation of childhood training practices to theories of disease, made ratings of the importance of various explanations of sickness in eighty-five societies. Of the eighty-five tribes only thirty-three overlapped with the author's sample. Taking the judges' ratings on the importance of spirits in human forms or ancestors as an explanation of sickness and correlating it with the presence or absence of superordinate justice, it was found that the correlation, though not significant, was in the opposite direction from the prediction, more tribes having both the absence of superordinate justice and the presence of spirits in human forms and ancestors as an explanation for sickness. In as much as Whiting and Child in their ratings distinguished only between spirits of animal and human form and did not attempt to evaluate the status of the spirits, it might still be worth attempting to test the hypothesis with the latter type of rating.

A second hypothesis suggested by the survey is that superordinate control and the absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness is correlated with the size of the population of the community, small communities tending to have coordinate control.[20] A preliminary test of this hypothesis was run using population figures collected by Murdock and Goodenough on the average population of the community of forty-two tribes.[19] Unfortunately there were only twenty of these tribes which were also in the author's sample. The mean population for the eleven tribes who had no superordinate justice was 114, for the nine tribes with superordinate justice 323. Applying a T test, the difference between these means is significant at the five percent level. In other words, the hypothesis that superordinate control is correlated with the larger group is substantiated.

[20] This hypothesis is similar to Redfield's. See "The Folk Society" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 1947, vol. LII), pp. 292-308.

[19] Unpublished notes G. P. Murdock and Ward Goodenough.

# APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

## MATERIAL CULTURE

THE material culture of the Harney Valley Paiute is similar to that of the Surprise 103
Valley Paiute. In the following description emphasis has been placed on those artifacts which are different either in manufacture or use to those described by Isabel Kelly (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 31, No. 3), pp. 67-210.

### HOUSES

*1. Tule Mat House.* Most usual type of winter house in the memory of old in- 342
formants.

*Frame.* Four willow, poplar or young pine poles about 15-20 feet long were lashed together with a deer-skin thong or sagebrush twine. The poles varied in the amount that they extended beyond the lashing but probably averaged about one foot. They were spread out in a circle about ten to twelve feet in diameter and sunk in the ground about four to six inches. The two main poles at the front were close together and formed the door. Additional poles, usually eight, were leaned between the main poles—two in each space, and sunk about two inches in the ground. Two horizontal willows were lashed around the outside of the poles (one informant claimed they were lashed on the inside), one about four feet from the ground and the other about eight feet. It usually took two willows to extend around the circumference. (One informant stated three rows of horizontal willows were used.) The men cut the poles and the women helped drag them to the camp site.

*Covering.* The frame was covered with tule mats. The mats were about five feet 283
high and varied from four to six feet in length. Four or five sections went around the 342
base. The mats were made by sewing the tule together with a rye grass or sagebrush bark thread and a willow, greasewood or thorn bush needle. A willow stick was attached at each end of the mat; a hole was made in the top of one willow and the thread was knotted, and then the mats were sewn across back and forth about every six inches, and the thread looped around the willows at each side. At the bottom, the tule was bent under and held in place by two rows of twining. (Some informants stated there were also two rows of twining at the top.) The mats were attached at each end to one of the poles and tied to the horizontal willows about a foot from the top in order to make an overlap of three to eight inches. The sections of mats were connected by tying the end willows together. The top mat was not lashed to the frame but to two additional poles, consequently it was adjustable and the smoke hole could be completely closed. One informant stated that this was a relatively recent innovation and that in the old days the smoke hole was not adjustable. Extra layers of mats were sometimes added in cold weather. The



[p. 92 is blank]

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

*Door.* The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [351] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House.* Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House.* The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks.* These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[343 841] 7. *Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut.* This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[343] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 10. *Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats.

## CLOTHING

*1. Sagebrush Clothing* (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

*2. Badger Skin Aprons.* These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

*3. Women's Skin Dress* (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

*4. Men's Clothing.*

*Shirt* (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

291 *Belt.* A buckskin strip about one inch wide tied in front held up both the breechclout and leggings.

*Breechclout.* Was made of fawn skin. Hetty said some men used to wear a double apron of badger or deer skin.

*Leggings.* Thigh length Plains type never decorated, or short type which was knee length and wrapped around, tied in two places, and sometimes sewed to the moccasins. The latter type was sometimes of badger with the hair left on and worn in very cold weather with the fur side in. A third type of legging came just above the knee and was sewn along the side, slipped on like a stocking and held in place by a separate piece of buckskin worn as a garter. A puttee type legging was also mentioned.

*Moccasins.* Similar to Surprise Valley Paiute (pp. 109-113). No "tule shoes" reported.

## HAIRDRESS

302 Long hair was admired in both men and women. Women parted their hair in the middle and wore it loose or braided, and tied in back. (Dick Jonas alone said only men tied their braids back.) The ends of the braids were sometimes wrapped with buckskin. Men parted their hair on the side, let the hair hang loose, braided a little on each side, or in two or three big braids. Men sometimes had bangs and pompadours. Only one informant mentioned women with bangs. Both sexes greased their hair.

The porcupine tail brush and rye grass root comb were similar to those described by Isabel Kelly (p. 113). A willow comb, made of two inch pieces of willow twined together by three rows of sinew, was also reported.

## FACE PAINTING

Red, yellow, white and black face paint were mentioned as used by both men and women on a grease base—usually bear fat. The forehead was most frequently painted, usually with long stripes and marking along the hair line, less commonly with dots and circles. A red circle on the forehead and chin, and two dots on each cheek was reported as a common design. Older boys often drew lines down the nose, put three or four horizontal stripes on the cheeks, and painted the chin red. Women often made three lines of white or yellow dots on either side of the nose. Painting the entire face red and then marking with white was mentioned. The part was sometimes painted, and hand prints made on the hair. Men sometimes painted their bangs.

## TATTOOING

304 Jenny thought tattooing was not practiced in the old days. The technique was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly (p. 116). There were no specialists. Red tattooing was mentioned.

## DEPILATION

302 Men removed facial hair with their fingers. Both men and women sometimes plucked their eyebrows, particularly during courtship.

## EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix. 304

## BLANKETS

*1. Rabbit skin blankets.* The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off. 281 [291]

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders.

*2. Other Blankets.* Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

## SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers reported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire. [412]

## BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

*1. Baskets.* Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but 415 285 [412]

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

## TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver.

*3. Special Knife-like Saw.* A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

## FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported.

## WEAPONS

*1. Bow and Arrow.* The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows.

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used.

*2. Round Shields.* Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika.

*3. Slat Armor.* Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

*4. Tunic Armor.* Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

*5. Clubs.* Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

## SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

### MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time.
581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like. 584

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered consumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother. [585] [431]

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the menstrual hut is used for courtship. [534] [302] [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [191]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers. [585] [348]

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general, 586 [684]

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

## PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



## BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

## INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[3] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

[3] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

## GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and [372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The [603] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

## CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he 862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

[8] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

## DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut.

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[5] The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

## DEATH

When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

[5] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry. The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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113

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7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



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